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VI.—PHILLIPPE DE MÉZIÈRES' DRAMATIC OFFICE FOR THE PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN

The present study originated in a suggestion of Monsieur Marius Sepet, of Paris.¹ In his famous monograph, *Les Prophètes du Christ*,² in describing the so-called *Festum Asinorum* of Rouen, M. Sepet contributes the following note:

Telle est aussi la voie que suit le cortège dans l'Office de la Présentation, par Philippe de Maizières. Cet office est un document des plus précieux pour l'histoire de la mise en scène. Notre confrère et ami M. Anatole Lefoullon se propose de la publier d'après le mss. Celestins 15, B. I.³

The early demise of M. Lefoullon prevented the accomplishment of his purpose, and, as it appears, no other

¹ I am glad of every opportunity for expressing my gratitude to Monsieur Sepet for numerous favors extending over a number of years. In the present instance I owe M. Sepet suggestions and encouragement without which I should never have undertaken the task in hand.

² *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, Vols. xxviii (1867), 1-27, 211-264; xxix (1868), 105-139, 261-293; xxxviii (1877), 397-443. These articles are reprinted and united to form the volume, *Les Prophètes du Christ*, Paris, Didier, 1878. I make my references to the single volume.

³ Sepet, p. 45, note 1. The new press-mark of this manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale is Latin 17330. In his *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Philippe de Mézières (Ecole Imperiale des Chartes. Positions des Thèses soutenues par les élèves de la promotion 1864-65*, Paris, 1865, p. 41), M. Lefoullon refers to this document as follows: "Dans le manuscrit 15, Célestins, mise en scène de l'office de la Présentation de la Vierge; des noms des 22 personages, des vêtements et ornements, de l'arrangement du lieu, de la processions, de la représentation de Marie, de la Messe et du sermon."

scholar has hitherto succeeded to his intention. Although, then, this document has lain in neglect these many years, and although, meanwhile, many important additions have been made to our knowledge of mediaeval drama, M. Sepet's appraisal remains, I think, sound and modest: "Cet office est un document des plus précieux pour l'histoire de la mise en scène."

I.

The Festum Praesentationis Beatae Mariae Virginis in Templo (November 21) had its origin in the following story from the apocryphal Gospels.¹ In fulfillment of a vow made by her parents, Mary, at the age of three years, accompanied them to the temple, ascended the steps unaided, and, after making a vow of virginity, remained in the temple to be brought up with other virgins.

¹ For the apocryphal texts see C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1876, pp. 14-17 (*Protevangelium Jacobi*, cap. vii-viii); pp. 117-119 (*De Nativitate Mariae*, cap. vii-viii). Cf. K. A. H. Kellner, *Heortology*, London, 1908, p. 265; *SS. D. N. Benedicti XIV Opera in duodecim tomus distributa*, t. x, Romae, 1751, p. 532; F. Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Vol. iv, Paris, 1904-08, col. 782-783; *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (Herzog-Hauch), Vol. xii, Leipzig, 1903, p. 320; A. F. James, *Dictionnaire . . . de la Bible par le Révérend Père Dom Augustin Calmet (Encyclopédie Théologique par Migne)*, t. iii, Paris, 1846, col. 1233; Migne, *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes (Troisième et Dernière Encyclopédie Théologique par Migne)*, t. i, Paris, 1856, col. 1017, 1053, 1065; Rohault de Fleury, *La Sainte Vierge*, t. i, Paris, 1878, pp. 47-53. As to the general tradition concerning the presentation of virgins in the temple see *Benedicti XIV Opera*, t. x, pp. 532-534; P. Canisius, *De Maria Virgine incomparabili et Dei Genitrice sacrosancta libri quinque*, Ingolstadii, 1577, pp. 81-86; [Gosselin], *Instructions historiques, dogmatiques et morales sur les principales Fêtes de l'Eglise*, t. iii, Paris, 1850, pp. 362-363; Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire*, Vol. iv, col. 783-784.

During her years in the temple she rejoiced in daily visits from angels and in heavenly visions. When Mary reached her fourteenth year, the High Priest wished to send her home, in order that she might marry; but she interposed her vow of virginity. After divine consultation the High Priest summoned the youths of the house of David and promised Mary as a wife to him whose rod should blossom and to whom the Holy Ghost should descend as a dove. Joseph was the chosen one.

The feast based upon this tradition originated in the East, where for some centuries, at least, the observance of it was exclusively confined. Although the date at which the feast was established is a matter of doubt, writers agree, in general, that this observance is first officially mentioned in a Constitution of the emperor Manuel Comnenus, of the year 1166.¹ Of the liturgical offices of the Feast of the Presentation in the East no adequate study has yet been made. Their general nature

¹ See *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Nomocanon cum Commentariis Theodori Balsamonis*, Titul. vii, cap. i, in *Bibliothecae Juris Canonici Veteris*, t. II, Paris, 1661, p. 921; *Benedicti XIV Opera*, t. x, p. 534; Kellner, p. 266; Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire*, Vol. iv, col. 784; *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (Herzog-Hauch), Vol. xii, p. 320; J. Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III, Edinburgh, 1900, p. 291; F. A. Zaccaria, *Onomasticon Rituale Selectum*, t. I, Faventiae, 1787, pp. 102-103. Kraus and Schrod (Wetzer und Welte's *Kirchenlexikon*, 2d edit., Vol. VIII, Freiburg, 1891, col. 817) assign the introduction of this feast at Constantinople to the year 730; but their evidence is not trustworthy. Cf. Kellner, p. 266, note 1. G. Moroni (*Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica*, Vol. 55, Venezia, 1852, p. 171) speaks of this feast as being mentioned "ne' più antichi martirologi." For other statements as to the early observance of the feast in the East see P. Guéranger, *The Liturgical Year*, Vol. VI, Stanbrook Abbey, Worcester, 1903, p. 345; J. Baudot, *The Roman Breviary*, London, 1909, p. 84; F. G. Holweck, *Fasti Mariani*, Freiburg, 1892, p. 267.

and sanction, however, are indicated in the following passage from a letter of Philippe de Mézières:

Temporibus namque antiquis, et, ut creditur, in primitia ecclesia quando Ciuitas Iherusalem et Terra Sancta per Xpistianos detinebatur, ibique in aliis partibus Orientis in quibus uigebat fides catholica, sanctis patribus instituentibus et uerisimiliter miraculis declarantibus, festum beatissime semper Virginis Marie, quando in tercio etatis sue anno in templo per se ipsam quindecim gradibus templi miraculose ascensis, fuit in dicto templo a parentibus suis presentata, die xxi mensis Nouembris deuotissime et solempniter celebratur. Et adhuc in regno Cypri deuotissime per fideles Orientis colitur de presenti, et habet officium totum proprium et deuotissimum secundum usum Curie Romane, etiam musice notatum.¹

Until further study reveals the nature of the Eastern office more accurately, we must be content with some such summary statement as this from Philippe de Mézières.

However ignorant we may be in regard to the original feast in the East, our information as to the introduction of this observance into the West is both abundant and detailed, thanks especially to the activity and literary diligence of this same Philippe de Mézières (1326 or 1327-1405),² for to this distinguished nobleman we owe the documents printed below. In connection with our present study we find him midway in his fascinating career as diplomat, soldier, writer, traveler, crusader, and religious enthusiast. After serving in one or another of these

¹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. latin 17330, fol. 4r-4v. A description of the manuscript and a complete text of the letter will be found below.

² The definitive life of this interesting personage is that of N. Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, Paris, 1896 (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, Fascicule 110). A short account of Philippe de Mézières' career is to be found in A. Molinier, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France*, t. iv, Paris, 1904, pp. 112-116.

capacities in France, Italy, and the Orient, and after devoting himself during a score or so of years to the interests of a new crusade, Mézières became (1360-61) Chancellor of the Kingdom of Cyprus, an office which he held until the death of King Pierre de Lusignan, in 1369. It was during the period between the death of Pierre de Lusignan and his own accession (1373) to the office of Counsellor under Charles V that Mézières concerned himself devotedly with the introduction of the Feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary into Western Europe. After a sojourn (1369-70) in the convent of St. John the Evangelist in Venice,¹ and after a year or so of activities that are practically unknown to us,² Mézières arrived, at the opening of the year 1372, at Avignon, as special ambassador from the court of Cyprus to announce to Pope Gregory XI the coronation of Pierre II (January 6, 1372). Although the object of the embassy was soon accomplished, Pope Gregory kept the devout and companionable ambassador beside him for a year or more. During this period of intimacy with the Pope, Philippe de Mézières had a sympathetic opportunity for advancing the liturgical project now before us. A devotee of the Blessed Virgin, and familiar with the *Festum Praesentationis* as he had seen it observed in the East, our enthusiast piously urged the establishment of this feast also in his own Western Church.³ Fortunate indeed we are to know every detail connected with this establishment, from a substantial epistle written by Philippe himself. To this capital document, then, we must turn, and to Philippe's own manuscript in which it is to be found.

¹ See Jorga, pp. 402-404.

² See Jorga, p. 404.

³ See Jorga, p. 412.

The official description of ms. latin 17330, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, is short:

17330. Office de la Présentation. Fin du xiv s.—Cél.¹

The manuscript measures 240 x 354 millimeters, and contains 25 folios of substantial parchment. The collation may be expressed as follows: *a* *a*¹² *b*¹². The principal items of the codex are written in a hand of the late fourteenth century, and none of them could have been written later than during the first half of the fifteenth century. The recto of the fly-leaf is blank. Of the entries (and numerous scribblings) on the verso, the following three are the most important:

- (1) In a hand of the end of the fourteenth century:

: Ihesus :

Iste liber est Domini Philippi de Maseriis
cancellarii regni Cipri.

- (2) In a hand of the beginning of the fifteenth century:

Iste liber est de Conuentu Fratrum Celestinorum de Parisiis.
29. a.²

- (3) In a hand of the beginning of the fifteenth century:

Tabula contentorum in hoc uolumine.

Primo: Sermo de Presentatione Virginis Marie a Magistro
Johanne de Basilia Doctore in Theologia Generali Fratrum
Heremitarum Sancti Augustini.

¹ L. Delisle, *Inventaire des Manuscrits latins de Notre-Dame et d'autres fonds conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sous les numéros 16719-18613*, Paris 1871, p. 41.

² 29. a. is the mark given the manuscript in the library of the Celestines of Paris. The same mark is found on fol. 24r. The possession of this codex by the Celestines of Paris is explained by the fact that after the death of Charles V (1380), Mézières associated himself with this community for the rest of his life. See Jorga, pp. 443 ff.

Item: Epistola Domini Philippi de Maseriis quondam Cancellarii Cipri de Solemnitate Presentationis Beate Marie Virginis. Fo. 4.

Item: Quiddam miraculum Beate Marie de doubus Iudeis per pedes supensis quos Beate Virgo inuocata liberauit, et baptizati fuerunt. Fo. 6.

Item: Officium Presentationis Beate Marie cum nota. Fo. 7.

Item: Historia de Presentatione Beate Marie per sex lectiones pro octaua. Fo. 14.

Item: Missa de eodem festo cum nota. Fo. 15.

Item: Recommendatio solemnitatis Presentationis Beate Marie in Templo. Fo. 17.

Item: De quibusdam actibus representantibus¹ eandem Presentationem Beate Marie in Templo et processione fienda in Missa. Fo. 18.

An additional inventory, in some respects more detailed, may be constructed as follows:

(1) Fly-leaf, recto: Blank.

(2) Fly-leaf, verso: Several entries of the late 14th and the early 15th centuries as to the ownership and content of the manuscript.

(3) Fol. 1^r-3^v: <headed> *Sermo de Presentatione Marie in Templo . . . <saec. xiv ex.>*.

(4) 4^r-5^v: <headed> *Epistola de solemnitate Presentationis Beate Marie in Templo et nouitate ipsius ad partes occidentales . . . <saec. xiv ex. Printed below>*.

(5) Fol. 5^v-6^r: Appendix (in the same hand) to the *Epistola*, recounting a miracle of two Jews.

(6) Fol. 6^v: <headed> *Oroison de Monsigneur Saint Joachim, pere de la Vierge Marie . . . <saec. xv>*.

(7) Fol. 7^r-17^r: *Officium Presentationis Beate Marie Virginis in Templo, quod festum celebratur uicesima prima die mensis Nouembris <saec. xiv ex. Cursus = fol. 7^r-15^r; Missa = fol. 15^r-17^r>*.

¹ MS. *represententibus*.

(8) Fol. 17^v: Without heading, a note of the early 15th century regarding the *officia* of the Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin. Printed below.

(9) Fol. 18^r-24^r: Without title, in a hand of the late 14th century, a dramatic procession for the Mass of the Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin. Printed below.

(10) Fol. 24^v: Irrelevant entries of the 15th century.

That this manuscript belonged to Philippe de Mézières himself is definitely settled by the entries on the fly-leaf, printed above. The date and content of these entries prove their original association with the body of the manuscript. This codex is, then, a thesaurus of information as to the Festum Praesentationis Beatae Virginis in Templo, and in all that relates to the establishment of this feast in Western Europe it is certainly the most important of known documents.¹

For our present literary purpose the two most important articles of the manuscript are number (4), the Epistola (fol. 4^r-5^v), and number (9), the dramatic procession (fol. 18^r-24^r). The text of the first of these is as follows:²

¹ That this document should have been so generally neglected by liturgiologists seems little short of incredible.

² Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. latin 17330, fol. 4^r-5^v. A 15th century text of this letter is found in Bibl. Nat. ms. latin 14454, fol. 2^r-4^v, and an incomplete text of the early 15th century is found in Bibl. Nat. ms. latin 14511, fol. 182^v-183^r. Jorga (pp. 411-414) quotes sparingly from a text of this letter in Meurisse, *Lettres de Charles cinquième et de Philippe de Maisières*, Metz, 1638, in -12, pp. 6 ff. Since this print is not to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, in the British Museum, or in the Bodleian Library, it may fairly be considered inaccessible. In *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis . . . autore Caesare Egassio Bulaeo*, t. iv, Paris, 1668, p. 441, the opening sentences of our Epistola are quoted "ex Epistola Philippi erga B. Virginem toto animo affecti intelligitur, quae legitur in libello excusso Metis anno 1638."

<fol. 4^r> *Epistola de Solemnitate Presentationis
Beate Marie in Templo et Nouitate ipsius ad
Partes Occidentales que Celebratur XXI No-
uembris.*¹

Uniuersis in *Domino* fidelibus, maxime *Xpistianis* occi-
dentalibus, Philippus de Maiserijs, Picardie miles infimus,
regni Cypri indignus cancellarius uocatus, ac gloriose
Virginis Marie zelator abortiuus, sentencias irati summi ²
iudicis per Mariam euadere *et* ad uitam sempiternam
peruenire, exclamare plerumque compellitur dolorem *com-*
munem et mala gentis nostre in lucem ad memoriam
reducere. Dicant igitur nunc cum lacrimis qui redempti
sunt a *Domino* Ihesu: Ve nobis *Xpistianis*, rubor in
facie et liuor infamie, quia non sunt occultata hodie a
filiis alienigenarum infidelium qui in circuitu nostro sunt
mala inexplicabilia *Xpistianis* adeo inflicta peccatis hec
impetrantibus. Quante nempe pestilentie, seditioes, mor-
talitates, guerre, proditioes, *et* hereses temporibus nostris
insur<r>exerunt, maxime ad plagam occidentalem, patet
intuenti.

Flagellauit etenim Deus *et* continue flagellat *Xpistia-*
nos, qui ad mortem, qui ad gladium, qui ad famem *et*
captiuitatem, Ieremia predicente, et uere cum Bernardo
ad Ostiensem, Penestrinum, *et* Tusculanum cardinales
scribente, hodie non immerito dici potest: Sapientiam
uincit malicia, adduntur ubique cornua impiis, *et* exarma-
tur iusticie zelus, *et* non est qui facere bonum, non dico
uelit, sed possit; superbi iniqui agunt usquequaque, *et*
nullus audet contra mutire, *et* utinam uel ignorantia tuta

¹ A later hand has added: A Magnifico D. Philippo De Maseriis
Edita.

² Supplied from a contemporary entry in the right margin.

esset, *et iusticia ipsa sibimet sufficeret defensioni. Hec ille.*

Nec mirum, *Patres et Fratres carissimi, quia cum precibus nostris pulsamus redemptorem non calescit, quia natus est nobis; auertit faciem suam et conturbati sumus. Quid igitur fiendum est desperandum? Absit. Sed in tantis processis flagellis et periculis secure ad portum salutis festinandum uidelicet ad aduocatam peccatorum, Mediatricem Dei et hominum, Reginam misericordie, et Matrem Dei, intemeratam Virginem Mariam Xpistiferam cum nouis laudibus uociferando reccurendum, ut uidelicet sua pietas sinum sue ¹ misericordie nobis adaperiat, et in recensione iocunditatis laudum sue Presentacionis deuotius allecta apud benedictum fructum uentris sui, Ihesum filium suum unigenitum, pro miseria nostra ipsum placando plus solito intercedere dignetur, ut ipsa adiuvante et protegente a malis liberemur, ad uiam rectam reducamur, et sine timore de manu inimicorum nostrorum liberati seruiamus illi deinceps in sanctitate et iusticia omnibus diebus nostris.*

Cantemus igitur carmen nouum Regine celi, et antiquas laudes Marie Presentationis in Templo de partibus Orientis nouiter coruscantes uniuersis fratribus nostris Xpistianis in plaga occidentali, australi, et septentrionali de gentibus pro antidoto et leticia spirituali annunciemus. Audiant ergo uniuersi Catholici Europe et Affrice, presertim deuoti intemerate Virginis, eius deuotissimam solennitatem utique in ecclesia occidentali nouam ac rutilantem in cordibus zelatorum Virginis, quamuis antiquam in ecclesia orientali, et ad nouam deuotionem excitentur. Temporibus namque antiquis, et, ut creditur,

¹ This word is written above the line, in a later hand.

in primitia ecclesia quando ciuitas sancta Iherusalem et Terra Sancta per Xpistianos detinebatur, ibique in aliis partibus Orientis in quibus uigebat fides catholica, sanctis patribus instituentibus et uerisimiliter miraculis declarantibus, festum Beatissime semper Virginis Marie, quando in tercio etatis sue anno in templo per se ipsam <fol. 4^v> quindecim gradibus templi miraculose¹ ascensis, fuit in dicto templo a parentibus suis presentata, die xxi mensis Nouembris deuotissime et solempniter celebrabatur. Et adhuc in regno Cypri deuotissime per fideles Orientis colitur de presenti, et habet officium totum proprium et deuotissimum secundum usum Curie Romane, etiam musice notatum.

Quod quidem festum supramemoratus cancellarius, quamuis indignus et inutilis, pre deuotione Virginis et iocunditate admirans et in corde suo pie extimans indignum quod tanta solennitas partes lateret occidentales, in quibus, protegente Domino, fidei plenitudo consistit, ob reuerentiam ipsius Beatissime semper² Virginis, ipsa adiuuante, dictam solempnitatem iam pluribus annis elapsis in aliquibus partibus Ytalie, uidelicet in preclara ciuitate Venetiarum, aliquibus electis deuote Virginis ipsius ciuitatis adiuuantibus, solempniter celebrari fecit cum representatione figurata et deuotissima, aliquibus signis et uisionibus dictam solempnitatem de cetero celebrandam confirmantibus et eam communicantibus, de qua certe noua deuotio et iocunda Matris Dei in cordibus multorum fidelium non mediocriter exorta est.

Adueniente plerumque dicto cancellario ambassiatore serenissimi principis, Petri Iherusalem et Cypri regis iuuenuli filii, quondam armipotentis Machabei uictorio-

¹ A contemporary entry in the left margin.

² A contemporary entry in the left margin.

sissime ac lacrimabilis memorie sui quondam domini pro factis orientalibus ad pedes Sanctissimi in Xpisto Patris et Domini Nostri Domini Gregorii Pape undecimi, Sacrosancte Romane ac Universalis Ecclesie Summi Pontificis, toto nisu anhelante ut solennitas sepetacta Beate Marie semper Virginis ubique terrarum auctoritate apostolica diuulgaretur, et cum illa humilitate qua potuit, non qua debuit, et deuotione qualicumque oracionum tamen fultus multorum deuotorum Virginis utriusque sexus et adiutus non in arcu suo sperans sed in arcu celesti qui diuinam maiestatem inclinauit usque ad uterum uirginalem, dicto Sanctissimo Pape Gregorio dictam solennitatem rutilantem noue deuotionis beatitudini sue tunc ignotam minus male annunciauit, ac officium integrum etiam musice notatum humiliter presentavit, supplicando eidem sanctitati, uice deuotorum Virginis, ut tanta solennitas Matris Dei, ab occidentalibus incognita et neglecta, ubique terrarum auctoritate apostolica celebrari mandare dignaretur, aut saltem deuotis uolentibus celebrari permetteret. Qui quidem sanctissimus Pater Gregorius sane uigilans in hiis que fidei sunt, et recensione multiplici armonie diuini cultus, uelut alter Dauid ipsius panaye¹ singulariter electus imitator, in summa clementia et mansuetudine in florida castitate et humilitate in zelo fidei et feruenti deuotione Marie, non utique annunciantis linguam balbutientem abhorrens seu leprosum haurientem aquam mundam repellens, sed amore Virginis tactus et inflammatus, libellum officii memorati manibus propriis dignanter recepit ac post multa et deuotissima uerba ipsius animam dicti Cancellarii fragilem pre deuotione penetrantia, concludendo Sanctissimus Pater in laudem Virginis prorupit

¹ A tick over this word refers to the words: *grecce Marie*, in the margin.

*dicens: Non est aliquod remedium ita efficax cuiusque*¹
peccatori sicut recursum habere in omni necessitate ad
Beatam Virginem Mariam, eique adherere sibi seruire et
ipsam laudare. Hec ille.

Tandem clementissimus² Papa² zelator honoris Marie,
uiso officio in studio proprio, importunitate dicti³ Can-
cellarii³ postea prosequente uoluit pie et catholice sepe-
tactum officium per aliquos reuerendissimos patres et
dominos cardinales ac magistros in sacra pagina solempnes
examinari debere, quod et factum est, nam Episcopus
Pamiensis sancte memorie, Urbani Pape ac Domini Nostri
Gregorii Pape confessor, solempnis in theologia magister
Ordinis Heremitarum Sancti Augustini, et Guilielmus
Romani Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum etiam in sacra
pagina magister Sacri Palatii, primo examinauerunt dic-
tum officium. Deinde Reuerendissimus Pater Dominus
Bertrandus Glandatensis, tituli Sancte Prisce, Presbyter
Cardinalis, solempnis magister in sacra pagina de Ordine
Minorum officium prolixè examinauit et aliqua propria
manu correxit; deinde etiam Reuerendissimi Patres
Dominus Anglicus Albanensis, Episcopus Cardinalis, et
Dominus Petrus Hyspalensis, tituli Sancte Praxedis,
Presbyter Cardinalis; post istos uero dominos Frater
Thomas quondam Minister Generalis Ordinis Beati Fran-
cisci, nunc uero Patriarcha Gradensis, Episcopus Cauilo-
nensis, Minister <fol. 5^r> Francie, Minister Hibernie,
et Procurator Ordinis Minorum. Omnes magistri in
sacra pagina insimul congregati dictum officium uiderunt

¹ A contemporary entry in the left margin.

² Supplied from a contemporary entry in the left margin to replace the words *sanctissimus pater*, which are crossed out.

³ Supplied from a contemporary entry in the left margin to replace the word *mea*, which is crossed out.

*et in presentia reuerendissimi dicti Domini Cardinalis Glandatensis non solum dictam sollemnitatem et officium approbauerunt sollemnizandum, sed etiam ut celebrari debeat a deuotis uolentibus ubique instanter intercesserunt. Factaque relatione de omnibus ad sanctitatem Domini Nostri Pape, idem uicarius dignissimus et imitator illius, qui non cessat Matrem honorare in terris quamuis deuotissimus*¹ *uicarius Matris sui magistri prudentissimus tamen maturius et catholice in hac parte procedere uolens, quam plures dominos cardinales ad se uocauit, et inito consilio supplicationeque dicti Cancellarii, hic inde uentilata tandem diuina clementia honorem Matris in salutem et consolacionem Xpistianorum uerisimiliter reuelante ac Virgine gloriosa in corde uicarii filii sui inspirante, cui plane interest pro tempore et loco cultum diuinum corrigere, modificare, tollerare, augmentare, et de nouo instituere, celebrandi deinceps publice sollempnitatem Presentationis Beate Marie in Templo a fidelibus pie, sancte, et digne tollerantiam seu permissionem misericorditer concessit; et facta est solempnitas Presentationis Beate Marie cum officio suo proprio sepetacto in Curia Romana, Beatissimo Papa Gregorio tollerante ac in sacro palatio suo degente Auinionensi in ecclesia Fratrum Minorum, uidelicet die dominica xxi die mensis Nouembris, anno de Natiuitate Domini mcccclxxii, indictione decima pontificatus Domini Nostri Domini Gregorii Pape xi^{mi} anno secundo.*

In uigilia namque ipsius dominice Vespere sollemnes, et de nocte Matutine de officio prelibato per Fratres Minores celebrate fuerunt. Et dominica pretacta Missa solempnis et pontificalis in dicta ecclesia Beati Francisci

¹ This word is repeated.

celebrata fuit per Reuerendum Patrem Dominum Episcopum Cortonensem Romanum, magistrum in sacra pagina solempnem de Ordine Predicatorum, cum sermone eiusdem solennitatis ad clerum in Missa et predicatione uulgari in Vesperis Secundis ad populum laudabiliter factis per Fratrem Franciscum de Fabrica, ministrum Assissii, solempnem doctorem in theologia.¹ Verumptamen ad honorandam prelibatam solennitatem Beate Marie in Missa interfuerunt deuoti Virginis Reuerendissimi in Xpisto Patres et Domini² Cardinales infra-scripti, uidelicet Dominus Anglicus Albanensis Episcopus Cardinalis, frater quondam sancte memorie Urbani Pape Quinti, Dominus Petrus Pampilonensis tituli Sancte Anastasie Presbyter Cardinalis et Vicecancellarius Ecclesie Romane, Dominus Guilielmus tituli Sancti Clementis Presbyter Cardinalis, consanguineus germanus Domini Nostri Pape, Dominus Florentinus tituli Sancti Laurentii in Damasco Presbyter Cardinalis, Dominus Iohannes Lemouicensis tituli Sanctorum Nerey et Achilley Presbyter Cardinalis, consanguineus Domini Nostri Pape, Dominus Bertrandus Glandatensis tituli Sancte Prisce Presbyter Cardinalis, Dominus Iohannes de Turre tituli Sancti Laurentii in Lucina Presbyter Cardinalis, Dominus Hugo Sancti Martialis tituli Sancte Marie in Porticu, Dyaconus Cardinalis, et Dominus Petrus de Barentonio³ tituli Sancte Marie in Via Lata Dyaconus Cardinalis.

¹ A tick at this point refers to the following, written in the upper margin in a hand of the 17th or 18th century: Ad augmentationem uero dictae solennitatis assistentes in dicto officio recitando, item sanctissimus Papa Gregorius omnibus qui interfuerunt ad dictam solennitatem tres annos et tres quadragenas de indulgentiis misericorditer concessit.

² This word is repeated in the manuscript.

³ I have no confidence in this expansion.

Fuerunt insuper alii domini et prelati ecclesie, Dominus Patriarcha Gradensis, prothonotarii, archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, magistri sacri palatii, et alii magistri in theologia diuersarum religionum regentes in sacra pagina, doctores sollennes utriusque juris, ac catholicus populus utriusque sexus, quorum non erat numerus, omnes congregati in laudem nouam Virginis Marie gloriose saciati plerumque nouo spiritali cibo a Virgine exquisito et preparato finaliter in uitam eternam.

Nec mirum, Patres et Fratres karissimi, quia plerumque in ista sancta solempnitate, misterio non carente, mens deuota contemplando quintuplici cibo refici potest et saciari. Primus namque cibus dici potest quedam translatio Marie sanctificate, ymmo sanctissime, trium annorum de domo patris carnalis ad domum eterni Dei Patris, de tenebris cellule parentum ad ostensionem populi Israel et aulam Regis uiuentium. Si igitur ecclesia sancta de translatione ossium mortuorum, tantam celebritatem facit, quid fiendum est de translatione Marie beatissime domus paterne ad Domini Templum? Secundus uero cibus ymaginari potest oculo mentali, uidelicet matura ascensio Marie quindecim graduum, de quibus non immerito ecclesia quindecim psalmos graduales in memoriam ascensionis prelibate sibi assumpsit. Ac sancti laudatores Virginis in suis carminibus <fol. 5^v> quindecim gaudia Virginis Marie deuotius recitarunt. Tercius autem cibus, et in sollemnitate nostra principalis, est ipsa Presentatio Beate Marie in Templo ad Deum Patrem. Congruum nempe et conueniens erat, ut illa que ab initio et ante secula ordinata erat ad concipiendum et portandum in utero pretium humane redemptionis, Deum et hominem, in templo Deo presentaretur, ibique a Spiritu Sancto de diuinis instrueretur et a conuersacione et contubernio

mundanorum totaliter abstraheretur. Delectabilis est certe cibus iste contemplantibus preparationem redemptionis nostre in Maria. Sed quartus cibus uirgines et mientes castas inebriare debet, Maria plerumque presentata in templo summo pontifici et reducta in contubernio uirginum, expectans redemptionem Israel, contra morem humanum a Spiritu Sancto edocta in templo prima uirginitate, uouit quod tantum Deo placuit, ut Mater Filii Dei fieret et uirginitatem non amitteret. Quintus plerumque cibus mentem deuotam ab omni corpore releuare certe debet contemplando totam uitam Marie, singulares actus, et uirtutes ipsius a presentatione ipsius in templo usque ad annum tredecimum uel quartumdecimum sanctissima uita sua continue ibidem in templo relucente. Quis enim plene contemplari ualet diuinam illam dispensationem atque nouitatem, in qua Virgo regia seni Ioseph nuptui traditur, florente uirga Ioseph approbante et Iudaico populo admirante?

Omnia etenim ista misteria et preparatoria aduentus Saluatoris in Mariam in templo subsequenter acta sunt, de quibus omnibus sub titulo Presentationis hodie in ecclesia Dei mens deuota sabbatizando in corde iubilat. Igitur sancti patres non sine magno misterio solennitatem istam gloriosam nec immerito ad laudem Dei et Virginis instituerunt, in qua nobis proponuntur tot misteria principia et fundamenta humane redemptionis nostre, que omnia in carminibus officii prelibate Presentationis uestre deuocioni lucidius apparebunt.

Istam modicam epistolam incompositam ac sine sale conditam, cum deuotissimo officio Presentationis Marie in Templo, Patres et Domini catholici occidentales, meridionales, et septentrionales, memoratus Cancellarius uermiculus uester et zelator abortiuus deuotioni uestre mitti

decreuit, ad excitandum corda fidelium maxime deuotorum Regine Celi, necnon ad recensendum ipsius laudes dignissimas, non ut inde uentum humane laudis acquirat, ipsa intemerata Virgine teste, sed ut ipsa inspirante *et* Filio suo consumante, sequentibus signis in cordibus uestris tanta solennitas non lateat, *et quandoque* in consistorio contemplacionis uestre solennitatis noue in Mariam rapti *et* affecti *per gratiam* pro anima uestri uermiculi uestra deuocio *quandoque* apud ipsam intercedere dignetur humiliter exorat, ut etiam multiplicatis intercessoribus latas sentencias irati summi Iudicis *per* intercessionem Beate Marie semper Virginis *Xpistiani* nostri euadere mereantur, *et* ad illam beatissimam uisionem, cuius, *secundum Augustinum*, cernere finis est, peruenire ualeant. Quod nobis concedere dignetur fructus Marie benedictus qui uiuit, regnat, *et* inperat *per infinita secula seculorum*, Amen.

According to the testimony of Philippe de Mézières, then, the Festum Praesentationis B. V. M. had been celebrated "temporibus antiquis" by the Eastern Church on November 21, and was still observed, in his own time, in the kingdom of Cyprus by a special office. It appears, moreover, that in Venice, several years before (pluribus annis elapsis),¹ Philippe himself had brought about a solemn observance of this feast, in which prominence was given to some sort of dramatic office (cum representatione figurata). Pope Gregory XI cordially approved of the new feast, took from Mézières' hand the book containing the *Officium Proprium* (libellum officii), and after examining the document himself, submitted it to a learned body

¹Concerning Mézières' visits to Venice see Jorga, pp. 236-244, 402-404.

of ecclesiastics for their approval. With the approbation of all, the Pope committed the arrangements to Mézières, and the feast was given its first official celebration in the Western Church on November 21, 1372, in the church of the Franciscans at Avignon.¹

II.

To students of mediæval drama, however, the chief interest of the establishment of the Festum Præsentationis Beatae Virginis Mariæ in the West attaches to the dramatic office mentioned in Mézières' pious letter,—the "representatio figurata" which he had brought forward as part of the observance of the feast in Venice. That this dramatic office was given a prominent place also in the papal obser-

¹For statements as to the introduction of the feast at Avignon, based upon Mézières' letter, see *Histoire Universitatis Parisienis . . . autore Cesare Egassio Bulæo*, t. iv, Paris, 1668, p. 441; *Benedicti XIV Opera*, Vol. x, p. 534; *Acta Sanctorum . . . editio novissima, curante Joanne Carnandet. Propylæum ad septem tomus Maji*, Parisiis et Romæ, 1868, *Paralipomena addendorum, mutandorum, aut corrigendorum in conatu Chronico-Historico ad catalogum Romanorum Pontificum*, p. 108, col. 2. With the further history of the feast we are not concerned here. See *Benedicti XIV Opera*, t. x, pp. 535-536; S. Bäumer, *Histoire du Bréviaire* (trans. by R. Biron), Vol. II, Paris, 1905, pp. 72, 110, 252, 275, 380, 386; Guéranger, Vol. VI, pp. 345 ff.; Kellner, p. 266.

The letter of Charles V, of Nov. 10, 1374, to the College of Navarre at Paris, urging the yearly celebration of the feast, is an important document concerning the history of the Festum Præsentationis in the West. Charles' letter, however, gives no important details as to the nature of the celebration itself. The letter is found in *Joannis Launoii Constantiensis Parisiensis Theologi Regii Navarrae Gymnasii Parisiensis Historia*, Pars Prima, Parisiis, 1677, pp. 77-79. Cf. *Benedicti XIV Opera*, t. x, p. 534; G. Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica*, Vol. 55, Venezia, 1852, p. 171; J.-B.-E. Pascal, *Origines et Raison de la Liturgie Catholique*, Paris, 1844, col. 1038.

vances at Avignon, is indicated by the following note, or "recommendatio," found in the manuscript before us:¹

Item pro refractione consolacionis deuotorum Beatissime. Virginis Marie qui sepe tactam solempnitatem Presentacionis ipsius Virginis in templo deuote celebrarunt et in futurum iubilando celebrabunt.

Notandum est quod Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo octogesimo quinto in ciuitate Auinionensi, superius tacto Philippo de Maseriis, regni Cipri cancellario, personaliter procurante apud Dominum Nostrum Summum Pontificem Clementem Septimum, ipso summo pontifice non sine deuotione et reuerencia ipsius Matris Dei non solum permittente sed deuote ordinante pretacta solempnitas Presentacionis ipsius Virginis a parentibus in templo xxj die Nouembris anni pretacti in ecclesia Fratrum Heremitarum Beati Augustini Auinioni deuotissime ac solempniter celebrata fuit cum missa pontificali, utique presentibus usque ad finem misse xvij. cardinalibus archiepiscopis episcopis cum uniuersali clero ipsius ciuitatis Auenionensis totoque populo utriusque sexus. In qua quidem missa solempni, ad laudem Virginis deuocionemque suorum deuotorum, facta fuit quedam representacio .xv. iuuenularum uirginum trium aut quatuor annorum, quarum una formosior representabat Mariam associatam a dictis uirginibus, et sic uariis indutis cum processione deuotissima cum Ioachim et Anna figuratis et angelis precedentibus Virginem ac sequentibus, ducta fuit cum instrumentis musicorum ad altare, ibique uelox ascendit xv. gradus ligneos tendentes ad altare et presentata a

¹This note is found in Bibl. Nat. ms. lat. 17330, fol. 17v. The note is written in a hand of the early 15th century, a hand seen nowhere else in the manuscript.

parentibus fuit figuraliter, *et* deuote accepta a summo sacerdote legis Ueteri<s> Testamenti induto habitu summorum pontificum Iudeorum. Qua presentata ad altare cum laudibus et carminibus dauiticis alta uoce per angelos Ioachim et Annam et ipsam Mariam recitatis, reducta est in medio chori *et* cardinalium in loco eminentiori, ut tactum est, associata, ibique expectauit usque ad finem misse celebrate, in qua quidem missa hora offertorii de *sancta* solempnitate Presentacionis Marie in templo predicauit ad dominos cardinales et ad clerum reuerendus et in *scientia* admirabilis magister Iohannes de Basilia, solempnissimus doctor in theologia Theothonicus nacione ac generalis ordinis Fratrum Heremitarum Beati Augustini, qui quidem generalis de mandato uiue uocis Domini Nostri Summi Pontificis, fecit sermonem nec habuit spacium prouidendi sermonem pretactum nisi tres dies nec completos et tamen ad confirmandum cor deuotum transformatum per *gratiam* in amorem Virginis, ut uidelicet tanta solempnitas non lateat quin ymo a fidelibus, ubique terrarum deinceps celebretur, ipsa uirgine uirginum in animam ipsius generalis mirabiliter inspirante sequentibus signis toto clero et dominis cardinalibus publice atestantibus quasi una uoce omnes dicebant quod numquam temporibus ipsorum pulcriorem sermonem de Beata Virgine audierant in Curia Romana. Denique ipse Dominus Noster Papa Clemens Septimus, deuocione Virginis Marie eiusque deuota solempnitate accensus, in pretacto diuino officio et festiuitate omnibus existentibus tres annos et tres quadragenas indulgenciarum misericorditer concessit, et qui audiuit et narrata uidit testimonium perhibuit, et uerum est testimonium eius ad laudem Matris Dei Filiiue eius benedicti, qui est benedictus in secula seculorum.

From this note it appears, then, that the Mass of the Presentation-at Avignon, in 1385, included a dramatic performance in which figured personages representing Mary, fourteen other young maidens, Joseph, Anna, and a number of angels. To the accompaniment of music Mary was led to the altar, where she quickly ascended fifteen wooden steps, was presented to an ecclesiastic vested as a Jewish high priest, and was lauded with the singing of psalms. Although we cannot be sure that the dramatic office referred to by Mézières as having been performed at Venice was identical with the dramatic office described above as part of the observance at Avignon, we do know, at least, that the "recommendatio" describes with almost perfect accuracy the "repraesentatio figurata" that follows it immediately in the manuscript. And if the "recommendatio" leads us to expect a particularly noteworthy dramatic document,—even "un document des plus précieux pour l'histoire de la mise en scène,"—our expectations are not to be disappointed.

<REPRÆSENTATIO FIGURATA IN FESTO PRÆSENTATIONIS BEATÆ VIRGINIS MARÆ IN TEMPLO>¹

< fol. 18^r > Quibusdam deuotis personis Matris illius qui dat sapientiam sapientibus *et* scientiam intelligentibus disciplinam, qui reuelat profunda *et* abscondita *et* nouit in tenebris constituta, cum quo lux est reuelans misteria que uentura sunt, a quo omne donum optimum *et* perfectum descendit, reuelare placuit ut xxj. die Nouembris pro commemoracione diei illius quo eius eterni uerbi Mater per carnales parentes in templo domini extitit presentata, ut sibi cui seruire regnare est in perpetuum

¹ Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. latin 17330, fol. 18r-24r.

assisteret, immaculata secundum eorum uota aliquam¹ ordinauerunt solempnitatem cum representationibus quibusdam deuotissimis uerbis nouisque actibus et signis ornatis ex quibus omnibus in *Xpisto* credentibus declararent quod per hanc humilissime Uirginis presentationem in templo omnia catholica fundamenta incepta sunt, ex quibus etiam a carne mens agrauata tamquam per uisibilia signa et opera secundum apostoli doctrinam ad cognitionem inuisibilium uisibiliumque misteriorum Dei peruenire ualerent ut in sequentibus lucide declaratur.

Et primo de xxij. personis ac nominibus ipsarum pro representatione fienda.

Secundo de indumentis ipsarum et ornamentis diuersis.

Tercio qualiter pro representationibus omnibus locus ordinetur.

Quarto de² processione fienda et ordine ipsius.

Quinto de representatione fienda et laudibus Marie.

Sexto de Presentatione Marie solempni Missa celebranda et breui sermone.

Primo namque erit quedam uirgo iuuencula et pulcherima circiter trium aut iiij.^{or} annorum, que representabit Mariam, et cum ea alie due uirgines pulcherime eiusdem etatis. Deinde erunt Ioachim et Anna; ceterum erunt duo angeli Gabriel et Raphael. Deinde erunt nouem angeli representantes nouem ordines angelorum. Postea erit quedam mulier pulcherima etatis circiter xx. annorum que uocabitur Ecclesia et representabit ecclesiam. Deinde erit quedam mulier prouecte etatis, que uocabitur Synagoga et representabit legem Moysi et Uetus Testa-

¹ Preceded by the words: nouisque actibus, which are crossed out.

² This word is repeated in the manuscript.

mentum. Ceterum erunt duo iuuenes cum instrumentis pulsantes. Deinde erit Michael archangelus et Lucifer. Ultimo erit episcopus cum dyacono et subdiacono.

Dicto de nominibus personarum pro representatione fienda, dicendum est de indumentis et ornamentis ipsarum.

Maria uero tunicam habebit indutam albissimam de cendato, sine aliquo artificio superfluo, cum plicatura parua eiusdem tunice exterius apparente circa inferiorem partem tunice in circulo, et tunica lata erit ubique exceptis manicis, que erunt adiacentes, nec super tunicam se cinget. Postea habebit quendam mantellum etiam albissimum de cendato aut panno serico, apertum ante in longitudinem corporis cum cordula de frizello aureo in firmatione mantelli ante pectus secundum formam mantelli sponsarum et tunc collare tunice et aperturam mantelli in longitudine apponetur paruus frizellus aureus et in circulo man < fol 18^v > telli inferius erit etiam plicatura apparens exterius ipsius mantelli. Capud autem Marie nudum erit, et capilli extensi retro super humeros; habebit autem super capud quemdam circumulum aureum de argento deaurato in latitudine modici digiti cum diademate rationabilis latitudinis de argento deaurato subtili firmato in circulo in posteriori parte capitis. Hoc erit ornamentum capitis Marie, nec anulos nec zonam nec aliquid aliud super se habebit nisi album et aureum, puritatem et uirginitatem Marie demonstrans et caritatis claritatem ipsius.

Due autem uirgines associantes Mariam; una induetur de cerico seu cendato uiridi, figurante humilitatem Marie, et alia de colore blauio seu celestino, fidem et spem Marie figurante; nam secundum apostolum conuersatio nostra, sed potius Marie in celis est. Iste due uirgines man-

tellum non portabunt sicut Maria, sed tunicas latas habebunt cum plicatura inferiori, ut supra dictum est; nec etiam ornentur super tunicas. Super capud uero nudum portabunt unum circulum de argento sine diademate in latitudine prius declarata; et capilli extensi retro, ut supra de Maria.

Ioachim uero pater Marie induetur alba sacerdotis desuper cinctus uelud sacerdos cum stola ad collum, et ante pectus in cruce procedente ut sacerdos, et desuper induetur quodam pluuiali antiquo non fracto, et in capite habebit quoddam uelum subtile et aliquantulum longum et, si inuenietur, aliquantulum laboratum, cum quo inuoluet capud et collum et duas extremitates ueli quolibet longitudine duarum palmarum et modicum plus proiciet super humeros super pluuiale a dextris et a sinistris; habebit ante prolixam amplam et albam barbam procedentem super pectus, et tenebit in manu extra pluuiale unum vas mediocre uitreum pleno uino rubeo.

Anna uero induetur de lino albo, tam in corpore quam in capite ad modum antiquum honeste matrone, et portabit in manu unum pannum rotundum albissimum et satis magnum.

Duo autem angeli induti erunt Gabriel et Raphael cum amictibus albis cincti desuper cum stola ad collum et in cruce ante pectus. Super capud uero portabunt quasdam barretas adiacentes in capite super aures, et in circulo capitis desuper habebunt formam triangularem aut quadrangularem non nimis latas, cum duabus fanis retro uelud in mitra episcopi. Et erunt iste barrete de cendato albo seu panno sericeo aut de papiro seu de pergamento cum quodam frizello in circulo barreti de pictura aliqua et floribus seminatis picture super barretam, et qui uoluerit poterit ponere in circulo barretarum paruas fringias

de cerico diuersi coloris. Habebunt etiam duo angeli quilibet duas alas, et portabunt in manu dextra quilibet unam uirgam rubeam.

Nouem angeli induentur sicut Gabriel et Raphael, excepto quod tres qui representabunt superiore ordinem angelorum sic: cherubim et cetera, habebunt barretas suas rubeas de pictura, ut dictum; tres uero secundi ordinis angelorum habebunt barretas blauias seu cele<fol. 19^r>stini coloris; et tres tercii ordinis angelorum, albas barretas. Habebunt omnes nouem lilium super quandam uirgam subtilem uiridis coloris et lilium primi ordinis deauratum erit et lilium secundi ordinis celestini coloris et tertium argentei coloris.

Ecclesia uero erit quidem pulcerrimus iuuenis circa xx. annos sine barba et induetur totum de auro in habitu diaconi capillis pulcerrimis mulieris extensis super humeros; et super capud portabit quandam coronam auream cum liliis et lapidibus preciosis. Contra pectus uero erit firmatus cum cordula quidam calix argenteus et deauratus sine patena, qui calix significabit nouum testamentum; et in manu sinistra portabit quandam crucem longam latitudine corporis, et capitis cuius crucis uirga rubea erit latitudine pollicis magni, et crux tota deaurata erit sine aliquo artificio. In manu uero dextra portabit quoddam pomum rotundum totum deauratum significans uniuersalem dominationem ecclesie.

Synagoga uero induetur ad modum antiquum uetule cum tunica talari inueterata alicuius panni simplicis coloris, et mantello nigro et rupto. Capud uero ad modum uetule ornatum de aliquo uelo obscuri coloris, et coram oculis et facie habebit uelum nigrum, per quod tamen possit uidere. In manu uero sinistra portabit quoddam uexillum rubeum cuius hasta nigra fracta ap-

parebit, uexillo inclinato super humeros suos. In quo quidem uexillo rubeo scribentur *litere* de auro: S. P. Q. R., *que* sunt arma Romanorum. *Et* in manu dextera portabit duas tabulas lapideas inclinatās uersus terram, in quibus tabulis lapideis erunt *scripte litere quasi litere* Hebreorum significantes legem Moysi *et* Vetus Testamentum.

Duo iuuenes qui pulsabunt instrumenta dulcia induti erunt sicut angeli, excepto *quod* non portabunt stolas neque alas; sed bene barretas uiridis coloris.

Deinde erit Michael archangelus qui armatus erit armis pulcerrimis de pede usque ad capud, et super galeam seu bachinetum seu barbutam habebit quandam coronam deauratam in signum militis uictoriosi *et* in signum *Xpisti* triumphantis. In manu autem dextra¹ tenebit Michael gladium nudum fulgentem *et* erectum uersus celum; et in sinistra manu tenebit quandam catenam ferream, cum qua² Lucifer in collo ligatus retro sequetur Michaelē.

Lucifer autem ornetur tali ornamento sicut eidem decet turpissimo *et* abhominabili cum cornubus, dentibus, *et* facie horribili. Et cum manu dextra tenebit Lucifer quandam trocum seu uncum ferreum portando super humerum; *et* cum sinistra manu tenebit catenam, quasi rebellare uellet Michaeli.

Qualiter pro Representatione fienda locus ordinetur.

In ecclesia namque inter portam magnam occidentalem *et* portam chori canonicorum seu fratrum in medio ecclesie aliquantulum tamen magis prope portam chori quam prope

¹ The manuscript reads: *autem dextra] autem tenebit.*

² MS. quo.

portam occidentalem, ut ab omnibus partibus ecclesie lucidius uideri possit, construetur quoddam edificium de lignis seu < fol. 19^v > stacio in altitudine vi. pedum desuper, uero erit tabulatum ad modum solarii, quod quidem solarium in transuerso ecclesie sic: de aspectu partis septentrionalis ad partem australem habebit x. pedes in longitudine, et de aspectu partis orientalis ad occidentalem solarium habebit in latitudine viij. pedes; et contra medium solarii uersus portam occidentalem erunt gradus tot quot esse poterunt de pauimento ecclesie usque ad solarium, et similiter erunt similes gradus in opposito porte chori, ad descendendum de solario, ita quod quilibet gradus in se longitudinem circiter trium pedum, ut minus occupet solarium quam fieri poterit, et isti gradus ab utraque parte clausi erunt cum tabulis seu lignis ita quod nemo ascendere ualeat nisi cum ordine ad representationem faciendam. Desuper uero solarium in uia inter utrosque gradus uia plana erit; sed ad partem septentrionalem erit quoddam scampnum ad sedendum protensum supra solarium de parte occidentali ad partem orientalem, et istud scampnum ita longum erit ut Ioachim et Anna in capitibus scampni et Maria in medio sedere ualeant; ita tamen quod sedes Marie tamen eleuetur, ut, sedentibus ipsis tribus, capud Marie sedentis in medio in equalitate altitudinis cum patre et matre inueniatur. Et inter scampnum et extremitatem solarii uersus partem septentrionalem dimittetur spacium pro Gabriele et Raphaele, qui ibidem stabunt retro Mariam in pedibus. Ad partem autem australem super solarium ultra uiam graduum erunt due sedes ita alte sicut scampnum predictum, super quibus sedebunt Ioachim et Anna, quarum sedium una erit posita ad partem orientalem solarii et alia ad partem occidentalem, super quibus sedebunt Ecclesia et Synagoga

respicientes Mariam, ita quod ascendendo gradus in solarium ascendens ire possit libere inter Ecclesiam et Synagoram ad extremitatem partem solarii uersus partem australem. In quatuor uero cornibus solarii stabunt in pedibus ad cornua septentrionalia Gabriel et Raphael, et ad cornua partis australis stabunt in pedibus duo iuuenes pulsatores. Solarium uero in circuitu suo muniatur quodam ligno subtili altitudinis a solarario duorum pedum per modum appodiationis, ut dictum solarium magis aptum appareat ad representationem fiendam, et ne illi qui super solarario erunt a solarario leuiter cadere possint. Istud solarium, scampnum, et sedes coperientur de tapetis. Fiat igitur edificium seu solarium de lignis fortissimis et bene ligatis ne propter pressuram populi astantis aliquomodo cadere ualeat.

Insuper inter sedes canonicorum seu fratrum et altare maius ad partem septentrionalem contra parietem seu pilare in loco eminenti construatur aliud solarium de lignis magnis, tamen paruum uidelicet in altitudine vii. uel viij. pedum. Solarium namquam desuper erit quadratum sex pedum, in qualibet quadratura et in circulo etiam muniatur quodam ligno subtili unius pedis altitudinis a solarario. Et cooperietur solarium de tapetis, et super tapetum quasi in medio solarii ponetur paruum scabellum coopertum de aliquo panno pulcro serico cum cussino paruo serico ad apodiandam Mariam audiendo Missam. Et recte in medio solarii super tapetum ponetur cussinus maior de serico ad sedendum Mariam et scabellum predictum immediate ante Mariam.

Ordinabitur etiam de aliquo loco prope ecclesiam, sicut de quadam camera per terram sufficienti ¹ ad recipiendum

¹ ms. sufficiienti.

omnes personas pro representatione ordinandas seu induendas, qui locus forte poterit esse capitulum fratrum, clausum tamen ante cum cortinis de aliqua domo prope ecclesiam < fol. 20^r > ad hoc sufficienti, in qua Maria nostra dulcissima cum societate sua parabitur et parata et ornata ut supra declaratum est expectabit processionem.

De Processione fienda et Ordine ipsius.

Episcopus namque seu archiepiscopus Missam celebraturus indutus pontificalibus cum baculo pastoralis, diacono et subdiacono precedentibus cum omni clero, sacerdotibus indutis pluuiialibus seu reliquiis de altari maiori, incipiet processionem cantando alta uoce: Salue Regina, et ibit processio recta uia uersus locum ubi Maria erit, semper cantando. Et cum tota processio transierit locum seu capitulum, Episcopo immediate transacto, aperientur cortine seu porta. Et primo exhibit unus de ordine angelorum cum uirga alba in manu sua dextra, quasi ad ostendendum et parandum uiam, et sequetur iste angelus immediate Episcopum quasi ad duos passus prope eum, ita tamen quod nulla persona se interponat inter Episcopum et angelum; angelus autem sequendo Episcopum proportionaliter cum uirga sua a dextris et a sinistris parabit uiam. Et post angelum sequentur alii octo angeli, unus post alterum gradiendo secundum ordinem suum, et Ierarchiam cherubim et cheraphim retrogradientibus quilibet portando in manu sua sinistra lilium supra declaratum. Post nouem angelos immediate sequetur Synagoga, capite dimisso, et portando uexillum suum et tabulas lapideas, ut supra declaratum est. Et post Synagogam sequetur Ecclesia formosa cum sua cruce calice in pectore et pomo aureo in manu dextra. Post

Ecclesiam immediate sequentur duo iuuenes pulsatores gradientes insimul et pulsantes instrumenta. Post pulsatores sequentur duo uirgines gradientes insimul, et illa que induta erit colore uiridi portabit in manu dextra unam candelam tercię partis libre uiridis coloris, et alia uirgo similem candelam celestini coloris.

Post duas uirgines immediate sequetur nostra dulcissima Maria portando in manu sua dextra similem candelam in pondere albissimam, tamen et in manu sua sinistra portabit quandam columbam albissimam ad pectus suum; et ad latus Marie dextrum gradietur Gabriel cum uirga sua rubea eleuata; et ad latus sinistrum Marie simili modo Raphael gradiens in equalitate cum Maria reuenter, nec minus appropinquantes ad personam Marie sed eam semper respicientes.

Post Mariam, Gabrielem, et Raphaelem gradientur simul Ioachim et Anna respicientes continue Mariam et portantes panem et uinum, ut supra declaratum est.

Et post ipsos ueniet Michael archangelus armatus cum gladio fulgenti et erecto in manu dextra, et cum sinistra per catenam unius passus ducendo trahet Luciferum cachinantem et aliquando ululantem, et quasi inuitus incedentem.

Maria autem exeunte de capitulo seu loco ubi ipsa processiones expectabat, subito unus de angelis ponet se inter duos pulsatores eundo processionaliter et alta uoce inchoabit quandam cantilenam per modum rondelli instrumentis pulsantibus de Beatissima Virgine, et hec in uulgari ad excitandum populum ad deuotionem. Et omnes angeli cum Ecclesia, Gabrieli, et Raphaeli, et pulsatoribus respondebunt. Clerus uero qui ante cantabat: Salue Regina, quando audiet angelum canentem¹ tacebit, et

¹ MS. canentum.

omnes tacebunt exceptis angelis qui continue dictum rondellum cantabunt, uno inchoante et aliis respondentibus processionaliter eundo usque ad solarium in medio ecclesie constructum.

Et post Michaellem et Luciferum gra<fol. 20^v>dientur nobiles et persone autentice uulgares, et postea populus utriusque sexus. Ibit autem¹ processio per claustrum usque ad portam que ducit ad plateam que est ante ualuas magnas ecclesie occidentales. In qua quidem platea processio faciet quoddam circulum circumiendo plateam et reuertendo ad magnam portam ecclesie gradiendo et cantando ut supra usque ad solarium predictum. Et notandum est quod quelibet persona de clero eundo processionaliter portabit unam candelam accensam in manu, et si nobiles persone autentice et populus portare uoluerint candelas in processione illius noui hominis ex utero postea illuminantis uniuersum orbem, ab ipso lumine non dubito premiabitur. Cum autem Maria de capitulo cum societate sua exhibit, erunt ordinati certi homines iuuenes et robusti qui hastas lancearum cum fune in transuerso inuicem ligatas in manibus tenebunt in longitudine ab Episcopo usque ad Luciferum inclusiue, et hoc duplici ordine gradiendo processionaliter, ut uidelicet Maria cum sua societate adornata eundo inter hastas a pressura populi non molestetur et habeat uiam expeditam; ita tamen quod homines tenentes hastas in manibus in transuerso extra hastas uersus populum ab utraque parte gradientur sustinendo populum cum hastis ne aliquis inter duos² ordines hastarum intrare ualeat nisi Maria et societas sua, exceptis duobus tribus aut quatuor seruientibus aut clientibus

¹This word is repeated in the manuscript.

²ms. duas.

iusticie qui inter hastas esse poterunt ad sedandum pressuram populi ne Maria et societas sua a populo opprimi ualeant.

Intrante autem processione in ecclesiam, episcopus cum clero suo transiet iuxta solarium et ibit ad altare maius, ibique in cathedra sua expectabit cum clero representationem fiendam super solarium, et postea Presentationem Marie ad ipsum episcopum fiendam. Et Maria cum societate sua inter hastas coram solario constructo firmiter stabit inter solarium et magnam portam ecclesie occidentalem, angelis semper cantantibus tantum quod episcopus ad cathedram suam peruenire ualeat et totus populus in ecclesiam intrauerit. Et nota quod processio ualde mane circa solis ortum incipi debeat, quia misterium representationis prolixum est et deuotissimum, et dies tunc breues sunt.

De Representatione fienda et Laudibus Marie.

Representatio talis est: Gabriel et Raphael cum Maria Ioachim et Anna et duobus pulsatoribus pulsantibus et preeuntibus ad pedem graduum solarii properabunt, aliis angelis, Ecclesia, Synagoga, Michael, et Lucifero in ordine suo firmiter stantibus et expectantibus. Perserui-
entes autem armorum seu clientes ascensus graduum solarii solícite custodiatur ne aliqui ascendere presumant nisi ad representationem fiendam ordinati. Tunc Gabriel primus in solarium ascendet et cum uirga sua uolendo se ad omnem plagam nutu non uerbo omnibus silentium inponet cum uirga. Et subito Maria sola sine adutorio aliquo per gradus in solarium hylari facie ascendet, et si non poterit portare candelam suam ascendendo, Raphael eam candelam portabit et Maria columbam suam coram

pectore suo ascendendo portabit, instrumentis pulsantibus. Et quando Maria erit super solarium erecta facie uersus altare maius, statim Raphael ascendet et una cum Gabriele Mariam ponent in sedem suam superius declaratam uersus septentrionalem partem. Et tunc Gabriel et Raphael insimul cum profunda reuerentia adorabunt Mariam et ibunt retro ipsam, Gabriel in cornu solarii uersus orientem pedibus stando Mariam semper respiciendo et uirga erecta, et sic Raphael in alio cornu solarii retro Mariam uirga erecta. Maria autem tenebit cum ambabus manibus columbam in gremio suo ipsam aliquando osculando et ponendo ad pectus suum. Et candela Marie ponetur per Raphaelem super unum candelabrum coram Maria; et sic ponentur due candelae duarum uirginum quando ascense erunt < fol. 21^r > in solario super duo candelabra in equalitate candelabri Marie. Tunc ascendent due uirgines insimul tenentes candelas suas et ponent se ad pedes Marie sedendo. Et postea duo pulsatores ascendent et ponent se in cornubus solarii uersus australem partem, quilibet in uno cornu solarii, respicientes Mariam et pulsantes. Statim post ascensionem pulsatorum ascendent Ioachim et Anna, et capite modicum inclinato quasi reuerendo Mariam, sedebunt super scampnum superius declaratum, Maria in medio uersa facie uersus partem australem, Ioachim ad sinistram Marie uersus orientem, et Anna uersus dextram Marie uersus occidentem sedendo. Et statim ascendent Synagoga primo et post eam Ecclesia, et sedebunt super scabella sua prius declarata sic: Synagoga ad partem orientalem et Ecclesia ad partem occidentalem, respicientes Mariam et tenentes in manibus Synagoga uexillum et tabulas et Ecclesia crucem et pomum, ut supra declaratum est, et sic remanebit uia expedita in solario inter duos gradus inter ascensum

solarii occidentalem et descensum ipsius orientalem inter Mariam, Ioachim, et Annam equaliter sedentes, Gabriele et Raphaelae retro in cornubus solarii partis septentrionalis stantibus et pulsantibus inter Synagogam et Ecclesiam, pulsatoribus retro in cornubus solarii partis australis stantibus et pulsantibus.

Nunc autem ueniendo ad laudes Marie primo silentio inposito per Gabrielem et Raphaelam cum uirgis suis, primus angelus qui tenebit uirgam albam in manu dextra et lilium suum in manu sinistra ascendet in solarium uirga erecta; et cum uenerit ante Mariam ponet uirgam suam super tapetum et profunde Mariam inclinabit et statim ponet se inter Synagogam et Ecclesiam, et pulsatores facie erecta uersus Mariam tenentibus instrumentis et omnibus de Ecclesia tenendo lilium erectum in manu sinistra et cum manu dextra uersus Mariam alta uoce quasi cantando incipiet dicere:

Que est illa que ascendit per desertum sicut uirgula fumi ex aromatibus mirre et thuris? Estne illa uirga que egredietur de radice Iesse, et flos de radice eius ascendit et requiescit super eum spiritus Domini, spiritus sapientie et intellectus, spiritus scientie et concilii, spiritus pietatis et fortitudinis, et spiritus timoris Domini?

Quo dicto pulsabuntur instrumenta et dictus angelus ueniet coram Maria, et inclinando se coram ea accipiet uirgam suam et descendet de solario per gradus partis orientalis et tenebit se inter gradus et hostium chori, ubi erunt iuuenes homines robusti tenentes hastas in transuerso duplici ordine, ut prius declaratum est, ad recipiendum et angelos et Mariam quando descendant de solario, et ibunt per chorum ad altare maius ad presentandum

Mariam Episcopo. Primo autem angelo descendente de solario, pulsantibus instrumentis, secundus angelus ascendet in solarium per gradus occidentales, et cum lilio suo in manu sinistra profunde Mariam inclinabit et ponet se in loco ubi fuerat angelus inter Ecclesiam, Synagogam, et pulsatores, et simili modo tenendo liliū erectum in manu sinistra, et dextram extendendo ad Mariam alta uoce dicet:

Ecce appropinquat gaudium nostrum

cum manu a dextris et a sinistris uertendo, et reducendo ad Mariam dicet:

Considerate et uidete speciosam uirguem, Deo placentem, claritate refulgentem, angelos letificantem, in honestate perseuerantem, et mundum decorantem. Dies immense leticie et magne exultationis omnibus creaturis, quia ecce archa Domini, uasculum diuine sapientie, et conseruatio naufragantis nature que hodie in templo presentatur Deo dedicatur et in perpetuum ad honorem omnipotentis Dei obligatur.

Quo dicto instrumenta pulsentur et angelus inclinet se coram Maria et descendat cum primo angelo, stetque in ordine suo expectando. Tercius autem angelus in loco ubi supra dicet:

Virgo ascendit in templum et angeli descendunt ad eam. Hec ancilla uocatur et domina erit; humilis dicitur et Deum humiliabit; uirginitatem uouet et Deum generabit. Tu es uirgo, exemplum uirginum, mulier decus mulierum, domina regula dominarum, benedicta tu quia per te uirgines decorabuntur, mulieres benedicentur, et omnes sancti per te premiabuntur.

Quartus angelus dicet:

Ecce uirginitas, ecce humilitas, ecce mansuetudo, ecce puritas,¹ ecce innocentia, ecce perfecta caritas, in qua habitabit immensa bonitas, et ecce illa que fiet sponsa, mater, et templum Dei.

Et notandum est quod omnes angeli in eodem loco dicent et cantabunt uersus suos seu carmina et in ascendendo in solarium stando cantando inclinando coram Maria, descendendo de solario et expectando inter gradus solarii orientales et hostium chori tenebunt illum ordinem qui superius declaratus est de duobus primis angelis.

Quintus angelus cantabit dicens:

O grande edificium in quo sustentabitur humana fragilitas, super quod edificabitur uniuersa fidelitas, a quo inchoatur perfecta uirginitas, et in quo terminabitur immensa bonitas; a te, per te, et in te laudabitur summa diuinitas.

Sextus angelus cantabit et dicet:

O admirabilis Domina in conspectu hominum, in conspectu angelorum, et in presentia Dei! Quis te digne laudabit, quis te digne inuocabit cum in mundo sis sine exemplo, et in natura sine macula, et in celis cum immensa gloria?

Septimus angelus cantabit et dicet:

Aue, Domina nostra, aue reparatio humane nature, aue mediatrix diuine iusticie et in qua misericordia Dei ostendetur, quia tu mater et uirgo eris, Deus et homo, fides et cor humanum. Certe mirabilis puelle

¹The words, ecce puritas, are repeated in the manuscript.

ascendentis ascensio, sed mirabilior sapientia puelle operantis, sed mirabilissima destorsio Dei descendentibus, que *sanctis* Patris erit gaudium *et* omnibus Deum diligentibus, *quia* cum ea apud Deum semper gaudebimus *per infinita seculorum secula*.

Octauus angelus dicet seu cantabit:

Aue, Maria *gratia* plena, Dominus tecum *et* plus tecum *quam* in celo. In te habitabit assumens de te carnem; tecum erit *et* cum omnibus qui tecum sunt, qui te diligunt, qui te honorant; tecum creator erit. O creatura Dominus, O ancilla sponsus, O admirabilis sponsa, nos te benedicimus, nos te laudamus, nos te adoramus *per infinita seculorum secula*.

Nonus angelus cherabin cantabit dicens:

O inestimabilis amor! O immensa dilectio! O infinita caritas!

¹ seipsum cum manu propria ostendendo; deinde Mariam cum manu ostendendo dicet: ¹

Ecce illa cui dabitur *precium* humane redemptionis, donum infinite estimationis, et *premium* summe perfectionis. Hec est illa Virgo Mater Filii Dei humilis que a spiritu sancto obumbrabitur ancilla elec<fol. 22^r>tissima uocabitur, *et* cum Deo Patre in eternum premiabitur.

Pulsantibus autem instrumentis et .ix. angelis in ordine suo, *secundum* quem gradiebantur in processione in terra expectantibus inter solarium *et* hostium chori, Anna mater Marie surget *et* stando pedibus in loco suo instrumentis

¹—¹ underlined in black.

tacentibus leuabit ambas manus suas ad celum cum pane in sinistra et uoce grossa mulieris uidue et prouecte dicet:

Audite filii Israel exultantes mecum quia mirabilia Dei narrabo: sterilis facta est mater (seipsam ostendendo cum manu),¹ et genuit exultationem in Israel. Ecce potero offerre munera Domino et non poterint me prohibere inimici mei. Dominus Deus exercituum factus est memor uerbi sui, et uisitauit populum suum uisitatione sua sancta.

Quo dicto et osculata Maria sedebit in loco suo, ut prius, et instrumenta pulsabuntur modicum. Tunc Ioachim surget in pedibus stando in loco suo et similiter leuabit manus ad celum cum uino in sinistra, et uertendo se a dextris et sinistris cum manibus annuendo grossa uoce dicet:

Gaudete omnes mulieres quia delebitur opprobrium uestrum, et nos omnes homines quia Deus homo ex ea nascetur (ostendendo Mariam cum manu; deinde ad angelos uertendo se).² Et uos omnes angeli quia sedes uestre reparabuntur.

Deinde uertet se circumquaque et dicet:

Et uos omnes creature, quia per eam decorabimini.

Et cum manibus ad celum eleuatis, genuflectando, facie ad partem australem sicut sederat, concludet dicens:

Gaudeamus ergo omnes et exulemus et Patrem et Filium et Spiritum collaudemus.

¹The marks of parenthesis are mine, the words enclosed being underlined in black in the manuscript.

²The marks of parenthesis are mine.

Et tunc surget *et* osculata Maria sedebit in loco suo sicut prius et pulsabuntur instrumenta modicum. Tunc surget Ecclesia de scabello suo, *et* stando in pedibus respiciendo Mariam cantabit alta uoce dicens:

Letentur celi *et* exultet terra, ecce appropinquat redemptio nostra, ecce appropinquat congregatio filiorum Dei.

¹ Et ostendendo seipsam cum manu dextra tenendo pomum aureum dicet:¹

Ecce noua mater ubertate plena non legis sed gracie, non timoris sed amoris, non seruitutis sed libertatis, quia ecce illa uirgo (demonstrando Mariam) ² que concipiet *et* pariet filium qui saluum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum. Gloria Patri *et* Filio *et* Spiritui Sancto; sicut erat in principio, *et* nunc *et* semper, *et* in secula seculorum.

³ Et omnes angeli respondebunt: ³

Amen.

Et remanebit Ecclesia in loco suo sedendo super scabellum suum sicut prius. *Et* post modicam pulsationem surget Synagoga in pedibus stando in loco suo, facie inclinata ad partem sinistram quasi tristis uertet se circumquaque, *et* quasi flendo cantabit dicens:

Quis dabit fontem lacrimarum oculis meis ut plorem miserabilem desolationem meam. Ecce illa

¹—¹ underlined in black.

² The marks of parenthesis are mine, the words enclosed being underlined in black.

³—³ underlined in black.

(ostendendo Mariam) ¹ *per quam uiuificabitur illa
neritas: Cum uenerit sanctus sanctorum, cessabit
unctio uestra.*

Et tunc subito uenient Gabriel *et* Raphael, *et* quasi cum indignatione expellentes Synagogam de solario per gradus occidentales, *et* tunc Synagoga descendendo proiciet uexillum *et* tabulas < fol. 22^v > a dextris *et* a sinistris in templo extra solarium, *et* sic erecta fugiet plorando *et* murmurando extra ecclesiam, nec amplius apparebit. Et Gabriel *et* Raphael non descendant de solario sedere uertentur in loco suo *et* pulsabuntur instrumenta modicum, *et* tantum quod populus quietetur a risu propter Synagogam expulsam. Pulsando uero instrumenta, Michael ascendet solarium *et* ducet secum Luciferum quasi inuitum incedentem *et* ululantem, *et* post inclinationem Michaelis ad Mariam ponet se ubi angeli cantabunt carmina sua *et* Lucifer erit iuxta Michaellem, sed cum transibit coram Maria finget se timorosum *et* trementem *et* dimittet se cadere in faciem suam, *et* Michael eum quasi ui trahet ad locum prius dictum sic: ubi angeli dixerint uersus suos, tunc Michael facie uersa ad Mariam in altum tenendo gladium fulgentem *et* in sinistra tenendo cathenam Luciferi genuflectentis alta uoce dicet:

Aue, altissima Domina, cui celi, terra, mare,
abyssi, *et* omnes creature obediunt, precipe *et* ego
obediam tibi,

² *et* cum puncto gladii ostendendo Luciferum dicet: ²

Ecce rebellator Dei, scandalum angelorum, *et*
inimicus humane nature. Tu enim a Deo accepisti

¹The marks of parenthesis are mine, the words enclosed being underlined in black.

²—² underlined in black.

potestatem conculcandi, repellendi, et cruciandi eum ex parte omnipotentis Dei. Tue damnationi supponitur, tue uoluntati traditur, et sub pedibus tuis uinculatur.

Et tunc Michael Luciferum sic ligatum et ululantem sub pedibus Marie ponet, *que ipsum cum pedibus uerberabit, ipsumque a se expellet; et statim per Michaellem, Gabrielem, et Raphaellem de solario per gradus occidentales proiciatur in terram, nec amplius in festo appareat, et pulsabuntur instrumenta. Et Michael ponet se ubi erat Synagoga, respiciendo semper Mariam. Post modicum autem interuallum surget Ecclesia de loco suo et inclinabit se coram Maria et descendet de solario cum angelis stando in ordine suo, et post Ecclesiam descendant duo pulsatores pulsantes instrumenta sua, et immediate post ipsos descendant due uirgines portantes in manibus candelas suas. Et Maria cum candela sua in manu statim post eas in medio Gabrielis et Raphaelis modicum tamen ante ipsos sine interuallo descendet de solario in societate angelorum in ordine suo prius declarato. Et postea immediate descendant Ioachim et Anna, et ultimo Michael quasi regens possessionem.*

Eundo per chorum ad altare maius ubi Episcopus expectat indutus casula pro missa celebranda cum dyacono suo subdyacono, unum a dextris et alium a sinistris erecti apodiantes se ad altare uersa facie ad Mariam uenientem. Cum autem Michael descenderit de solario cum Maria et societate sua inter duos ordines hastarum, erit parata ad gradiendum uersus altare, subito duo de angelis alta uoce incipient:

Veni creator spiritus.

Et omnes angeli respondebunt:

Mentes tuorum uisita,
totum uersum, *et finito uersu, duo angeli iterum incipient:*

Qui paraclitus, et cetera.

Et alii *respondebunt* sicut prius. Et eundo ad altare lento gradu *complebitur totus hymnus. Quando uero Maria inueniet se coram altari, angeli coram altari diuident se a dextris et sinistris Marie, Maria remanente in gradu altaris coram Episcopo inter Ioachim et Annam, Gabriele et Raphaele in medio retro Mariam remanentibus cum uirgis suis quasi custodiendo Mariam, et due uirgines a dextris et sinistris. Ioachim et Anna erecti stabunt; Ecclesia autem ponet se ad dextrum cornu altaris, uersa facie ad Mariam uel ad populum. Et sic faciet Michael in cornu sinistro altaris. Hymno completo duo angeli cantatores incipient:*

¹ *Emitte spiritum tuum et creabuntur.*¹

Et alii *respondebunt:*

² *Et renouabis faciem terre.*²

Tunc Episcopus alta uoce dicet:

Deus qui corda.

Et postquam *Veni creator incipietur, instrumenta amplius non pulsabunt. Unum notandum est, < fol. 23^r > quod quando Maria cum societate sua peruenerit coram altari³ et angeli diuident se, ut dictum est, illi iuuenes robusti qui portabunt hastas duplici ordine coram altari facient unum magnum quadrangulum de hastis suis in quo*

¹—¹ underlined in black.

²—² underlined in black.

³ *ms. alteri.*

quadrangulo *Maria et societas sua sine pressura erunt, nec permittent seruientes armorum quod aliqua persona intret nisi sit de societate Maria, ut uidelicet misterium Presentationis Marie ab omnibus uideri possit sine impedimento.*

Nunc autem ad *Presentationem Beate Marie in templo sciendum est quod omnia supra figurata in signis dictis factis et representationibus satis lucide declarant ascensionem graduum Marie Presentationemque eius; et quante uirtutis sit apparet in laudibus ipsius et carminibus sepe replicatis et fundamentum catholicum et iocundum nostre redemptionis et reparationis. Nunc uero ad Presentationem Marie que Presentatio letantibus angelicis et Matris Dei deuotis exultantibus hodie in ecclesia Dei non immerito a fidelibus celebratur. Anna uero erecta cum pane eleuato in manu sinistra et cum dextra brachium sinistrum Marie tenendo alta uoce dicet:*

Accipe, Domine, fructum nostrum per te ab eterno ordinatum, a te benedictum, per angelum tuum annunciatum, mirabiliter conceptum gloriose natum, per te gubernatum, et a te in habitaculum tuum electum.

Tunc Ioachim¹ erectus manu dextra cum uino eleuata et cum sinistra tenendo brachium dextrum Marie eleuatum cum candela alta uoce etiam dicet:

Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, quia uisitauit nos in prole et preparauit redemptionem plebi sue. Accipe, Domine, uotum nostrum fructum sterilitatis nostre, quia consolatus es senectutem nostram, qui mandas salutos Iacob. Veni citò et descende in eam,

¹ MS. Iohacim.

ut *prophete tui fideles inueniantur et genus humanum a babilonica seruitute per eam redimatur.*

Quo dicto *Ioachim et Anna capitibus in terram inclinatis modicum orabunt, Maria in pedibus remanente. Et statim surgent et ducent Mariam tenentem candelam et columbam coram Episcopo, ipsamque eidem presentabunt genibus flexis. Tunc Episcopus alta uoce dicet in personam Dei Patris:*

Veni amica mea, ueni columba mea, quia macula non est in te. Veni de Lybano electa ab eterno, ut te accipiam sponsam dilecto filio meo.

Et tunc *Episcopus eam accipiet in ulnis suis, uertendo se a dextris et sinistris et faciet ipsam osculari altare et deponet eam in terram. Ioachim uero et Anna offerent supra altare panem et uinum osculando altare dimittentes Mariam coram altari cum duabus uirginibus, que etiam osculabuntur altare, et descendant cum angelis. Tunc Gabriel et Raphael in medio ipsorum ducent Mariam in solarium preparatum inter altare et sedes chori ad partem septentrionalem superius declaratum. Et due uirgines etiam ascendent in solarium cum Maria, in quo solario paruo nullus remanebit nisi Maria cum duabus uirginibus, Gabriele et Raphaelo retro Mariam in pedibus cum uirgis suis erectis remanentibus quasi ad custodiam Marie. Ante uero scabellum paruum Marie super quo apodiabit se audi < fol. 23^v > endo Missam erunt tria candelabra quibus ponentur candeles Marie et uirginum et super scabellum erit quidam libellus paruulus pulcer, cuius folia Maria reuoluet quasi dicendo horas suas, et quandoque sedebit super cussinum maiorem, et uirgines prope eam super tapetum. In Euangelio surget Maria et uirgines et tenebunt candelas in manibus, et tenebit se Maria in*

Missa mature *et* deuote, Gabriele *et* Raphiele eam instrumentibus. Missa namque incepta Maria columbam permittet euolare. Et notandum quod quando Maria erit super istud solarium paruum, Ioachim, Anna, Ecclesia, Michael, ix angeli, pulsatoribus pulsantibus, quilibet in gradu suo angeli primi Ecclesia pulsatoribus Ioachim *et* Anna *et* Michaele retrogradientibus inclinatis capitibus coram Episcopo *et* altari *et* postea profunde coram Maria, recedent processionaliter instrumentis pulsantibus *et* ibunt ad locum ubi parauerant se *et* deponent uestimenta sua *et* ornamenta, que omnia ornamenta sollicite custodiantur pro representatione anni futuri.

Predictis autem recedentibus a facie Episcopi *et* Marie, Episcopus incipiet Confiteor *et* cantores chori incipient Gaudeamus, Officium Presentationis, Maria in solario remanente usque ad finem Misse, facie uersa ad partem australem, *et* uirgines *et* duo angeli quasi continue respicient Mariam. Et si uidebitur quod possit fieri sermo breuis de solempnitate in Missa *et* quod tempus patiatur, fiat. Sed quia misteria proluxa fuerit *et* deuota, arbitrio dominorum relinguatur. Ita tamen quod aut in Missa aut post prandium tanta solempnitas Regine celi sermone seu predicatione nullo modo careat.

Missa autem finita, Maria cum angelis suis *et* uirginibus de solario descendet, *et* osculando altare candelam suam offeret *et* uirgines etiam. Et statim aderunt pulsatores qui recesserunt *et* ipsis precedentibus *et* pulsantibus Maria in medio Gabrielis *et* Raphaelis, uirginibus recedentibus, associata multitudine dominarum nobilium maxime puellarum *et* puerorum sexus utriusque, ad domum ubi prandere uelut portabitur per aliquum hominem procere stature seu equitando super palefridum; *et* angeli etiam super duos equos, Maria in medio faci-

endo modicum circuitum per ciuitatem si tempus fuerit serenum.

In prandio autem Maria in habitu suo in loco sublimiori *et* cathedra regali ponatur associata uirginibus quam plurimis in mensa, Gabriele et Raphaele usque ad finem prandii diligenter sollicite *et* cum profunda reuerentia seruientibus, *et* qui dulcissimam uirginem Mariam feruentius *et* ardentius seruire poterit *et* ipsius laudes dignissimas recensendo replicare *et* annunciare ualuerit, mihi manum ad interrogationem, exoro, porrigat quia ueraciter merito non frustrabitur. Et notandum quod carmina de laudibus Virginis suprascripta que per angelos *et* personas alias suprascriptas alta uoce cantabuntur seu proferentur deuotissima sunt ac certe lacrimabilia pre deuotione maxime fidelibus gramaticam intelligentibus; *sed* quia uulgaris populus gramaticam non intelligit, si uidebitur expediens *et* nostra Maria dulcissima in cordibus deuotorum suorum per gratiam inspirauerit, translari poterunt sepetacta carmina in uulgari dictamine *et* uulgariter simili modo dictari poterunt. Istud relinquo fiendum uel non fiendum deuotis intemerate Virginis presentem representationem pie legentibus. Istam autem solempnitatem Presentationis Beate Marie Virginis in Templo nouiter choruscantem de partibus orientalibus ad partes occidentales, quomodo Beata Virgo uoluit ipsam solempnitatem in dictis partibus celebrari debere quomodo fuit celebrata in Ytalia, *et* postea in Curia Romana, per quem *et* quante uirtutis *et* deuotionis ipsa solempnitas existat in epistola de *Presentatione Marie in Templo et* nouitate eius ad partes occidentales legenti lucidius <fol. 24^r> apparebit, que quidem epistola ante principium Officii Presentationis poni debet; unde deuoto Marie legenti epistolam, officium, *et* presentem representationem

humiliter exoro ut in tanta deuotione noua Virginis pro anima mea misera apud ipsam Imperatricem celi empyrei et anchoram spei mee intercedere dignetur. Amen.

The setting of the elaborate action described in this text may be elucidated by the diagram on the page opposite, which outlines the ground-plan of a typical church, and shows the location of the platforms and the disposition of the personages.¹

A = Anna.

BB = choir-stalls (*sedes canonicorum*).

C = main platform (*quoddam edificium de lignis*).

D = smaller platform (*aliud solarium*).

E = Ecclesia.

G = Gabriel.

I = Ioachim.

M = Maria.

PP = Pulsatores.

R = Raphael.

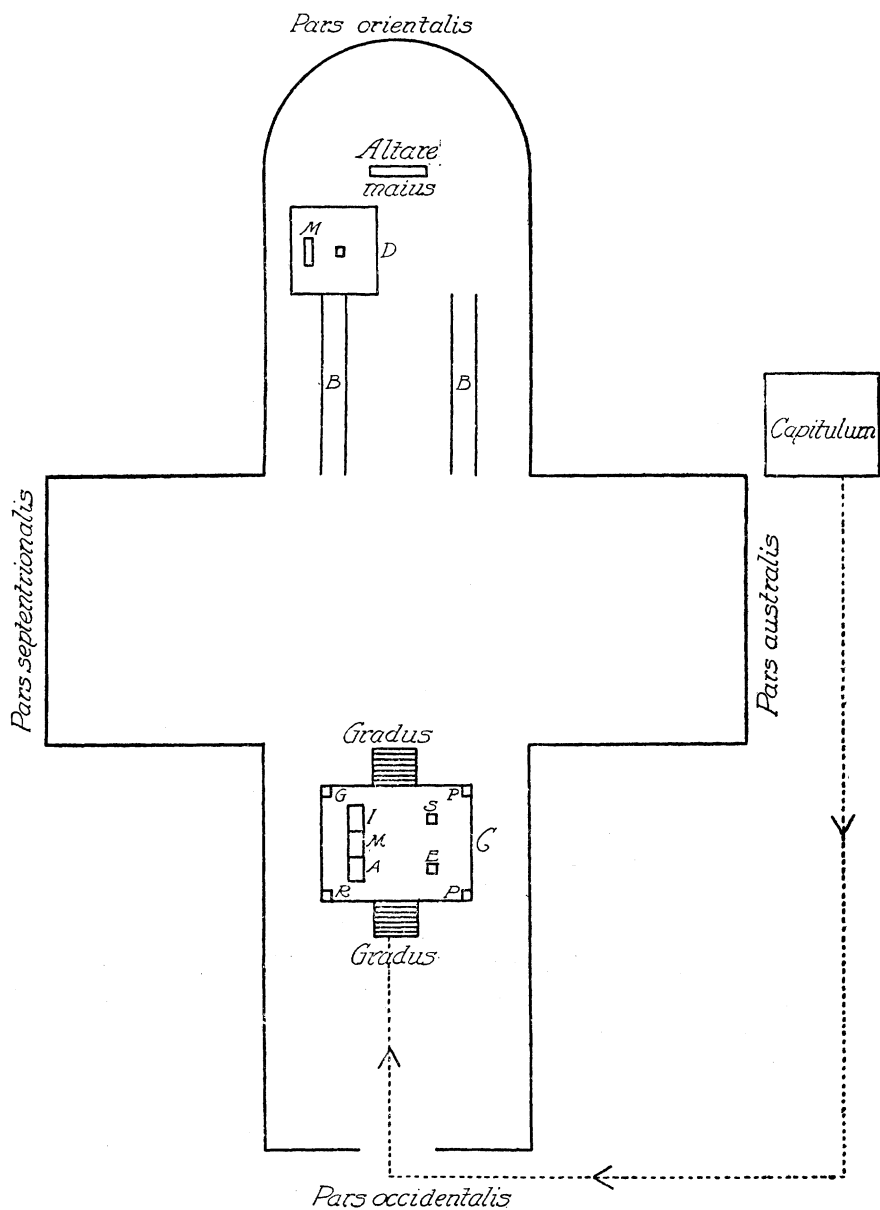
S = Synagoga.

The broken line indicates the path of the procession from the chapter-house into the nave of the church.

The significance of this diagram will appear in the course of a brief summary of the text now before us.

The document provides us, in the first place, with a list of the names and a description of the costumes of twenty-two personages, or actors, representing Mary, two

¹ It is understood, of course, that the drawing is merely schematic. The dimensions of the platform are obviously out of proportion to the dimensions of the church itself.



small maidens, Joseph, Anna, Gabriel, Raphael, nine angels, Ecclesia, Synagoga, two musicians, Michael, and Lucifer. The accurate details regarding costume leave us no doubt as to the appearance of these characters,—who are, to be sure, sufficiently conventional. Noteworthy, however, are the symbols of Ecclesia and the splendid dignity of Michael leading the unwilling Lucifer by an iron chain.

Still more exact are the data regarding the dimensions and arrangements of the two platforms, or stages. The larger of the two stages, erected in the nave of the church, is rectangular, measuring ten feet from north to south, and eight feet from east to west, and stands six feet high. This stage is approached on the east and west by steps three feet long, and is provided with a light railing, two feet high, extending round the top. Upon the stage a bench, extending from east to west, provides a seat for Mary in the middle and seats for Joseph and Anna on the child's left and right respectively. Opposite Joseph is placed a stool for Synagoga, and opposite Anna, one for Ecclesia. On the northeast corner Gabriel will stand, on the northwest, Raphael, and on the other two corners, the musicians. The platform and the seats are covered with carpets.

The smaller stage is erected against the north wall of the choir, between the choir-stalls and the main altar. It is seven or eight feet high and six feet square, and is provided with a railing one foot high. This platform is furnished with a seat for Mary, and with a cushion upon which she may kneel during Mass.

These two stages are the goal of the procession and the setting of the main action.

Although certain details in connection with the pro-

cession are not entirely clear, the general procedure is easily followed. After the vesting and costuming of the personages in the chapter-house beside the church, the procession moves in a stately course through the cloister to the west portal of the church, and enters the nave. The order of the personages in the procession is as follows: the clergy, the deacon and subdeacon, the bishop, the nine angels, Synagoga, Ecclesia, the two musicians, the two maidens, Mary, Gabriel (on Mary's right), Raphael (on Mary's left), Joseph and Anna, Michael, Lucifer, and a company of approved laymen. The procession advances with singing, protected on either side by a line of able bodied men carrying spears.

When the procession has entered the church, the bishop proceeds promptly down the nave, past the main stage, to his *cathedra* beside the altar, presumably on the south side of the choir. Then the chief personages of the action ascend the steps of the main stage and take their places as already indicated. With a gladsome countenance Mary mounts the steps unaccompanied, carrying her dove close to her bosom with one hand, and, if possible, her candle in the other hand. After all have arranged themselves on the stage in due order, and after the lights have been put in place before Mary, everything is ready for the *Laudes Mariae*.

The *laudes* are delivered with the greatest precision. Each of the nine angels in turn ascends the west steps of the stage, makes obeisance before Mary, utters a verse of praise, and descends by the east steps to the pavement between the stage and the door of the choir. Then Anna, Joseph, and Ecclesia offer their praise, one at a time. Synagoga, however, after a tearful lament is pushed down the west steps of the stage by Gabriel and Raphael, lets

fall her banner and the tables of the Old Law, and flees crying from the church. After the laughter of the people has subsided (*populus quietetur a risu*),¹ Michael ascends the platform leading the howling and unwilling Lucifer (*inuitum incedentem et ululantem*). After Michael has delivered his verse of praise, and has humbled Lucifer to the extent of making him Mary's footstool, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael unite in thrusting the "rebellator Dei" to the ground by way of the west steps.

The principal personages now group themselves in procession once more, and, during the singing of a hymn, pass from the main stage through the choir to the main altar. Here Joseph and Anna, with suitable words and action, deliver Mary into the arms of the bishop,² representing by this act the *Praesentatio Beatae Virginis Mariae in Templo*. Mary is presently set upon the pavement again and led by Gabriel and Raphael to the smaller stage, already mentioned, set against the north wall of the choir between the choir stalls and the high altar. Upon this stage Mary remains during Mass. At the beginning of the office she lets her dove fly away, and to each part of the Mass she gives reverent attention. At the end of the office Mary descends from the platform, kisses the altar, and offers her candle. With the carrying of Mary from the church, in the arms of a strong man or upon a palfrey, the dramatic office is concluded.

One would like to know more of the genesis and the literary antecedents of the dramatic text before us. Although in his *Epistola* Phillipe de Mézières speaks of

¹ The comedy attached to *Synagoga* and Lucifer deserves emphasis.

² According to the note, or "recommendatio" printed above, the bishop wears the vestments of a Jewish high priest (*habitu summorum pontificum Iudeorum*). See above, p. 201.

the assiduous observance of the Festum Praesentationes in the East, and especially in the Isle of Cyprus,¹ I have no ground for surmising that our dramatic text was a part of the office used in the East,² or in the "officium totum proprium" used in Cyprus.³ It seems most probable that Mézières himself added the dramatic procession at the time when he arranged a celebration of the feast "cum representatione figurata" at Venice, presumably about the year 1370.⁴ It is not impossible, to be sure, that the dramatic office as we have it should have been one of the changes or additions⁵ made at the time of the papal celebration at Avignon, on November 21, 1372.

Manifestly the text in hand is an important document

¹ See the passage: *Temporibus . . . musice notatum*, quoted above, p. 184.

² Had there been a dramatic office for the feast at Constantinople it might have been mentioned in *Georgius Codinus Curopalata de Officiis Magnae Ecclesiae et Aulae Constantinopolitanae*, Parisiis, 1648, cap. xv, § vi, p. 113, where the celebration of the Festum Praesentationis is recorded.

³ Concerning the *officia propria* of Cyprus I have no information at all.

⁴ In Mézières' *Epistola* printed above we read: . . . dictam solemnitatem iam pluribus annis elapsis in aliquibus partibus Ytalie, uidelicet in preclara ciuitate Venetiarum, aliquibus electis deuote Virginis ipsius ciuitatis adiuuantibus, solempniter celebrari fecit cum representatione figurata. Concerning Mézières' soujourn in Venice in 1370, see Jorga, pp. 402-404. I find nothing in regard to the play in *Vita del Glorioso San Giovanni apostolo ed evangelista con alcuni miracoli della Santissima Croce* . . . , Venezia, 1752, pp. i ff., or in *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia, e di Torcello* . . . illustrate da Flaminio Corner, Padova, 1758, pp. 371-375. Each of these works mentions certain events connected with Mézières' soujourn in Venice in 1370.

⁵ See Mézières' *Epistola* printed above: . . . Bertrandus Glandatensis . . . aliqua propria manu correxit . . . pro tempore et loco cultum diuinum corrigere, modificare, tollerare, augmentare, et de nouo instituere. See above, pp. 193-194.

for the history of *mise en scène*. In few dramatic texts of the middle ages do we find so elaborate an array of rubrics, or stage-directions. Costume, setting, text, and action are described with a definiteness that should satisfy even a modern stage-manager. The details of the description demonstrate, moreover, that we are dealing with no mere dramatic office, but rather, with a true play. The story is completely presented in the form of action, and the characters concerned in the action are frankly, even elaborately, impersonated. The close attachment of the play to the Mass fixes it firmly within the domain of liturgical drama, and within that domain it stands unique. That this text should stand thus alone is explained, no doubt, by the fact that the Feast of the Presentation reached Western Europe at so late a date. The formative period of liturgical drama had passed before the time of Philippe de Mézières' eventful visit to the papal court at Avignon. It appears, then, that for the development and modification of this theme in the drama of the West we must look to the dramatic literature in the vernacular outside the church.

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